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(George L
DeCosta

"RECLUSE ISLAND," (NEAR BOLTON,) LAKE GEORGE.

A NARRATIVE OF EVENTS

AT

LAKE GEORGE,

FROM THE EARLY COLONIAL TIMES
TO THE CLOSE OF THE
REVOLUTION.

BY B. F. DE COSTA.

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THIS work contains the substance of a paper read before the New York Historical Society. It is designed to give a plain statement of the chief events that occurred at Lake George, during the period intervening between its discovery by the French, and the termination of the war for American Independence. The fragmentary materials used have been gathered from many different sources, yet it is believed that no essential fact has been omitted, through negligence or want of patient research. It would prove an easy task to compile a large volume from the English and French reports, yet it was the author's design to compress the material into a small space for a special use. There are, nevertheless, periods in the history of Lake George that have left no record; while it should be observed that a full history of the Lake would embrace the history of a large portion of the state of New York.

STUYVESANT PARK, New York, 1868.

COLONIAL DAYS.

PART I.

THE existence of Lake George was first made known to Europeans by the French. In July, 1609, Champlain ascended the St. Lawrence, in company with a party of Hurons and Algonquins, and sailed across the lake which now bears his name. He had joined these Indians in an expedition against the hostile Iroquois, for the purpose of gaining their good will. As they proceeded on the way, the Indians described the country to be traversed, and the region which was inhabited by their enemies. Champlain says, "The Indians told me . . . that we must pass by a waterfall, *which I afterwards saw*,[1] and then enter another lake three or four leagues long." That lake was Lake George, the outlet of which, at Ticonderoga, forms a beautiful fall. This bold explorer never saw the lake itself.[2] Encountering their enemies

(1)—Doc. His. N. Y., Vol. iii. p. 5. (2)—Charlevoix has been quoted by various authors, as saying that Champlain passed the rapids and sailed up Lake St. Sacrament; yet Charlevoix says nothing of the kind. His account of the matter indicates precisely the *contrary*. In the face of Champlain's own statement, Lossing *infers* that he crossed the lake and went as far south as Glen's Falls. Field Book, Vol. i. p. 108.

near Crown Point, whither they had come to meet them, the Hurons and their confederates gained an easy victory by means of the arquebus of Champlain, and returned with ten or twelve prisoners.

The first white man who is known to have seen Lake George was Father Jogues.[1] May 29, 1646, he was on his way to the Mohawk country, to perfect a treaty. Attended by Jean Bourdon, the engineer, who was one of the principal residents of Quebec, he arrived in a canoe at the outlet of the lake on the eve of the festival of *Corpus Christi*,[2] and named it *Lac du St. Sacrement*,[3] Lake of the Blessed Sacrament. By the Iroquois it had been known as Andiartarocte,[4] which meant the Tail of the Lake, i. e. the place where Lake Champlain closes. The next day they continued their course southward, on foot, "with great fatigue, for they had to carry on their backs their bundles and baggage." The Algonquin guides were forced to leave a great portion of their baggage on the border of the lake.

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(1) — Isaac Jogues, a member of the Society of Jesus, was born in Orleans, France, in 1607, and fell a martyr to the Faith in 1646, being cruelly murdered by the Mohawks, among whom he was laboring as a missionary. He was the first Roman Catholic missionary to enter the State of New York. When he left Canada to go on his mission, he had a presentiment of his coming fate, saying, *Ibo, nec redibo*. (2) — A festival kept on the Thursday following Trinity Sunday, in commemoration of the supposed Real Presence of Christ in the Sacrament. (3) — In giving it this name, the reference was *not* to the purity of the water. It was wholly in honor of the festival. See *Relations des Jesuites*, 1646, p. 15. (4) — Father Bruyas in his MS. work on Mohawk *Radicals*, says: "*Ganniatare*, a lake: *Ganniatariakte*, I pass it with something." Potier, in his Huron Grammar, mentions *un* and *nd* as convertible. Hence the form *Gandiiatare*. Garocte means, "Go quickly." The name "Horikan" — Silvery Water — has no authority, and is simply a fancy of Cooper's.

They reached their destination, accomplished their object, and, June 16, started on their return. The Relation says: "They travelled several days by land, not without trouble, for they had, like Arabian horses, to carry their victuals and baggage, the brooks being the only taverns to be met with. Arriving on the border of Lake St. Sacrament, they made canoes, or small boats, with bark; and setting out in them, they paddled and sailed until the twenty-seventh of the same month of June, and then landed at the first French habitation."[1]

Father Jogues, therefore, was probably the first European who sailed upon the waters of the beautiful Lake of the Holy Sacrament.

It is true that others of the Fathers travelled in the vicinity about this time. Among them was Father Bressani, who was carried away captive by the Mohawks in 1644; but he says nothing in his Relation[2] about the lake.

The map published by the Jesuits in 1661, indeed, has a dotted trail from the south end of Lake St. Sacrament to the Mohawk villages; yet the absurd form given to the lake shows that whoever made the map had never sailed upon its waters. The trail laid down was probably the course pursued by the Indians. Father Poncet,[3] who was made a prisoner by the

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(1) — Relation 1646, p. 18. Father Jogues has been represented (see Brodhead's New York, p. 423) as returning by the "same route" that he came. The authority given is Father Tanner's curious Latin work, compiled chiefly from the Relations. On this point he is clearly wrong, as well as in regard to the date of Father Jogues' return, which was on the 17th, and *not* the 16th, of June. (2) — Col. Doc., ix. 46. *Relations des Jesuites*, 1665, Vol. iii. p. 6. (3) — ib., 1653, Vol. p. 11.

Iroquois in 1652, is silent respecting the lake. Father LeMoyne, who wrote four years later, maintains the same reticence.

January 30, 1666, the French operations became active, and Courcelles, Governor of Canada, left Fort St. Theresa to attack the Mohawks near the banks of the Hudson, but he returned February 12, without inflicting much injury upon the enemy. Later in the year, about the 1st of July, Sorel marched on the same errand, and while on his way met a deputation of Indians who were going to Montreal to effect a peace. Accordingly he returned, and on the 12th of the month a treaty was made with the Oneidas, it being agreed to "open a trade and commerce by the Lake du Saint Sacrement."[1]

September 14, Tracy, then Viceroy of Canada, finding the Mohawks extremely troublesome, sent the Governor, Courcelles, with a considerable force, to destroy their forts and villages. Tracy himself joined the expedition. Considerable success attended their efforts, though both the Viceroy and the Governor were disabled by hardship, and were carried back the most of the distance by their men, reaching Montreal in fifty-three days from the time they set out. The route taken by these expeditions is not noted with accuracy, yet it is highly probable that they passed over Lake St. Sacrament.

In 1668 Fathers Fremin, Pierron, and Bruyas went up Lake Champlain, and passed south from Ticonderoga by land. Near by the Indians showed

(1) — Col. Doc.: Vol. ix. p. 46; iii. p. 126.

them a place where some water-dwellers exchanged flints for tobacco. We give a translation of the account as narrated by the Fathers themselves. They say:

"We arrived at three-fourths of a league from the rapids, where Lake St. Sacrament empties. We halted at this place without knowing the reason, except that we saw our Indians pick up at the water's edge, gun-flints almost completely cut. We did not then give it any attention, but we subsequently learned the mystery, for our Iroquois told us that they never failed to halt at that place to pay homage to a nation of invisible men, who dwelt there at the bottom of the water, and were engaged in preparing gun-flints almost ready for use, for those who passed, provided they rendered them their obeisance by offering them some tobacco. If they gave much they gave the stones liberally. These water-men join canoes like the Iroquois; and when their great chief plunges into the water to enter his palace, he makes such a loud noise that it fills with terror the minds of all those who are not aware of his great genius."[1]

The Indians conversed on the subject very seriously; but the good Fathers explain that these stones, so useful in striking fire, were thrown up by the waves during the storms, and that the invisibles aforesaid have nothing to do with the matter.

The reverend Father says in the Relation, that while he stopped on an island on Lake Champlain, the rest went forward, the boatmen "landing at the end of the

(1) — *Relations des Jesuites*, 1668. Vol. iii. p. 5.

Lake du St. Sacrement, and preparing for the portage. Each one loads himself with baggage and canoes, in which, re-embarking, [in Lake St. Sacrament] at last, after some paddle-strokes, we left them, joyful to have reached the end of the lake, whence there remained thirty leagues to make by land."

The language of the Relation is here a little obscure, but he probably means that only a part of the Indians re-embarked. We are, however, informed that the Iroquois kept a regular guard at this point. They remembered the expedition of Tracy two years before, and "all the country of the Iroquois was then in apprehension of a new army, so that fourteen men were continually on the watch at the end of the lake to discover the march of the army and give prompt news to all the nation, that they might set ambushes in the woods to attack and cut us in pieces. But instead of enemies," says the Father, "we were angels of peace; and they, instead of lions, were servants, and helped us to carry our packages. We marched in their company by small days' journeys."[1]

We find nothing further of interest, until Waite and Jennings crossed the lake on their way to Canada, to negotiate for the return of the English, who were taken prisoners by the French and Indians at Hatfield and Deerfield, Massachusetts, September 19, 1677. Under date of December 13, following, it is said: "Securing, with some difficulty, an Indian guide on whom they could rely, they proceeded to Lake George, where, finding a canoe, they crossed to the outlet of

(1) — *Relations des Jesuites*, 1668. Vol. iii. p. 6.

that lake in three days."[1] From thence they went on to St. John's, and at once found a part of the prisoners.

In 1690, hostilities being threatened between the French and English, the former at Montreal, Bancroft says, were frequently alarmed by reports that the Indians and colonists were building canoes and descending Lake St. Sacrament.[2] But on June 21, of the next year, the English moved in earnest, and Major John Schuyler left Albany to attack Fort Lapraire. His force consisted of two hundred and sixty whites and friendly Indians, of which number no less than sixty-eight were killed and wounded before his return.

His expedition attracted much attention at the time, but resulted in little real good. During this expedition he sent scouting-parties out on Lake St. Sacrament, as it was then universally called, who ranged up and down its waters.[3] The expedition of Colonel Philip Schuyler to the same place, the following year, does not appear to have gone nearer the lake than Ticonderoga.

In 1692 Menteth, who commanded six hundred French, moved during the winter against the Mohawks living south of the Hudson, and defeated them with considerable loss. It is not so clear that he crossed the lake on his way south, yet he returned that way. The French report says, under date of March 2: "Came to sleep at Lake St. Sacrament; several of

(1)—Attack on Hatfield and Deerfield. Bradford Club, p. 32. (2)—Bancroft, Vol. iii. p. 184. (3)—Col. Doc., Vol. iii. p. 800.

the Indians left us to hunt, and as they alone were master of the prisoners, whom they did not guard very strictly, many of them escaped."

The next morning they moved on, and on the 4th they arrived at the place where they had previously deposited a quantity of provisions, which they found spoiled. This caused a "universal and most rigid fast." Some of the party boiled their moccasins with a few potatoes to satisfy their hunger. They reached Montreal on March 17.[1]

Queen Anne's war commenced in 1702, and continued until 1713. During this war the lake was used to some extent, and was, on the whole, the favorite route to Canada. It involved a portage at Ticonderoga, but it was considered by far the most healthy. The war, however, went on for about nine years before the quiet of the lake was seriously disturbed. At that time the colonists prepared to invade Canada, and on August 28 Colonel Nicholson marched with four thousand men, one half of whom were Germans and Indians. But he had scarcely reached the site of the present village of Caldwell, at the head of Lake St. Sacrament, when he heard of the failure of General Hill's expedition against Quebec, and received orders to return to Albany.

In 1745 hostilities again broke out with the French, who came down by the way of Lake Champlain and Fort Edward, in the course of the war destroying Saratoga and capturing Fort Massachusetts, which was situated within the limits of Williamstown, Mass.

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(1)—Doc. His. N. Y., Vol. ix. p. 560.

During this war the lake was visited by six hundred Dutch and friendly Indians. The former went on a scout down the lake in canoes, but did not meet with the enemy. Later, the French commander, Devillers, sent scouts to the lake, which he calls "Lake St. Laurent," who reported that they found camps and cabins sufficient to accommodate the above-mentioned number of men. The camps appeared as if they had not been left more than a month. Yet the war closed without any hostilities on the lake, which was next used to some extent by Indian smugglers. About this time a party of the Six Nations, who had deserted and established themselves near Montreal, seem to have monopolized the illicit trading between Albany and Montreal.[1] On one occasion they saved the life of a captive of another tribe, who had been taken to Crown Point, and carried him in their canoes across Lake St. Sacrament to his home.

The next year General Johnson, afterwards Sir William Johnson, visited the lake with several tribes of Indians. He tells us in his account of the Oneidas, that this tribe often used a tree as a symbol of stability, but that their true symbol is a stone, called *Onoga*. His visit to the lake was marked only by the setting up of the Indian signs. He writes: "I went on Lake St. Sacrament in 1746, when, to show the enemy the strength of our Indian alliance, I desired each nation to affix their symbol to a tree, to alarm the French. The Oneidas," he says, "put up a stone, which they painted red."[2]

(1) — Colden's Five Nations, Vol. ii. p. 121. (2) — Doc. His. N. Y., Vol. iv. p. 271.

In the year 1749 Kalm, the Swedish traveller, intended to pass down the lake, but was finally obliged to go by the way of Whitehall, though he testifies that the common route at that time lay over St. Sacrament, which indicates that the lake was well known.

We find no record of anything of much interest in connection with the lake from this time forward, until the year 1755, when, on the 28th of August, General Johnson built a military road, and, marching to the lake, encamped at its head with a small army, designed to operate against Crown Point, and repel the aggressions of the French, who were now preparing to assert their claims to a large part of the country. Immediately on his arrival he changed the name of the lake, and ordered that it should in the future be known as Lake George, "not only," as he said, "in honor of his Majesty, but to ascertain his undoubted dominion." This change was one that must ever be regretted, since no more beautiful or appropriate name could be suggested than that given by the devout Father Jogues, by which it was known for more than a century. "Lake Jogues," would be preferable to Lake George.

When Johnson reached the lake he found the whole country covered with primeval woods, where, he says, though not with exact truth, "no house was ever before built, not a spot of land cleared." And while he was here engaged in making preparations to advance, the French general, Dieskau, made his appearance near the southern spur of French Mountain, with an army of two thousand men, a portion of whom were Indians.

A council of war was held on the morning of Sep-

tember 8, when it was resolved to send a force to meet the enemy. General Johnson at first proposed a somewhat small number of men for this service; but the old Mohawk sachem, "King Hendrick," a firm friend of the English, declared that the force was insufficient. "If they are to fight," said the chief, "they are too few; if to be killed, they are too many." Again, when Johnson proposed to divide the force into three parties, he took three sticks, and said: "Put these together and you cannot break them: take them one by one, and you can break them easily." Thus the question was settled, and Colonel Williams was placed in command of twelve hundred men, among whom was a body of Mohawk Indians under Hendrick.

Colonel Williams met the enemy at a brook four miles east of the lake, where the road to Glen's Falls now passes, and was unfortunately drawn into an ambush laid in the form of a half moon. The enemy at once opened a galling fire, under which the English force was mowed down like grass. The aged Hendrick, who rode horseback and directed the movements of his men, fell from his saddle, mortally wounded; and Colonel Williams was killed by a bullet, while standing on or near a rock, (which is still pointed out,) giving his orders. Colonel Whiting immediately succeeded to the command, and ordered the troops to fall back to the main body at the lake, from whence reinforcements had already been sent to their aid. This movement was accomplished with coolness, notwithstanding the previous blunder.

Dieskau rapidly followed, and at eleven o'clock

reached the eminence where the slight earthwork called Fort Gage was afterwards built. Hoyt, who conversed with several soldiers engaged in the battle, gives an account of their impressions when they saw the disciplined Frenchmen appearing on the hill: "The regulars advanced in a column of platoons, then a novelty to provincial troops, and as the day was fine, their polished arms glittered through the tops of the intervening trees like masses of icicle, multiplying their number ten-fold."[1]

Johnson's camp was situated near the site of the ruins of Fort George, where he had formed a slight breastwork of logs, and was somewhat prepared to meet him. After a brief delay the enemy attacked with much fury, and the battle raged for a period of five hours. Dieskau's Indians, however, feared the artillery of the English, and the French were unable, with all their exertions, to carry the position. Finally they gave up the attempt and retreated, the English jumping over the breastworks and pursuing for some distance. At sunset the remnant of the French army halted near the scene of the morning engagement, and while refreshing themselves there, were suddenly attacked by two hundred New Hampshire men from Fort Edward, under Captain McGinnis. They were at once routed, and fled in dismay, leaving all their baggage, while the blood of the slaughtered men mingled with the water of a shallow pond, which has since been known as "Bloody Pond."

General Johnson was wounded early in the engage-

(1) — Antiquarian Researches, p. 276.

ment at his camp, and retired to his tent, turning over the command to General Lyman, who stood in the most exposed positions, coolly giving his orders and cheering on the men until the victory was secured. Still, Johnson did not have the magnanimity even to mention Lyman in his despatches, though in his tent he admitted the great value of his services. A conspiracy[1] was even formed among certain of the officers to accuse Lyman of *cowardice*. The conspiracy failed, but that brave man was kept from the enjoyment of his just reward. On the other hand General Johnson obtained great credit, and, in addition to the grant of a large sum of money by Parliament, was created a baronet.

In this engagement the intrepid Dieskau was wounded[2] and taken prisoner. His motto — *Valor vincit* — signally failed in this instance. His whole army might have been either destroyed or captured, if the advantage gained had been followed up. Lyman strenuously advocated this policy, but Johnson thought it unsafe.

The troops engaged were chiefly from New England, New York furnishing only eight hundred. The loss was estimated at about three hundred in killed and wounded. The French lost from four to six hun-

(1) — Review of Mil. Operations in N. A., 1755-6. Series B, p. 64.
(2) — He was wounded twice. Some authorities say that the second shot — a severe one in his hips — was given by a renegade Frenchman; while others affirm that it was fired by one of the English, who, on approaching the wounded general to make him a prisoner, saw him put his hand in his breast as if to draw a pistol, whereas he was simply feeling for his watch. Dieskau died in Surenne, France, from the effect of his wounds, September 8, 1767.

dred. They retreated to Crown Point and abandoned the campaign.

This was the first battle fought at Lake George. It was of great importance, both inasmuch as it rebuked the arrogant assumptions of the French, and taught them the hopelessness of seeking to divide the common interests. The result filled the whole country with the wildest joy, and the people everywhere began to take heart.

Before leaving this subject, however, it may be proper to notice the spirit displayed by New York, then distracted by internal dissensions, and under the influence of the wrong leaders. The struggle going on was upon New-York ground, and was more especially designed for the protection of her people. The French power was in the ascendant, and an easy route by water was open between Montreal and the city of New York. The French fully announced their ambitious designs by the establishment of a fort and colony at Crown Point twenty-five years before; and yet the people of New York, who at this time numbered not less than 55,000, seemed, on the whole, altogether too willing to yield their backs to the smiter. "But," says Smith, in his history of New York, "a very different spirit prevailed in the eastern colonies: for, upon the southern defeat, Massachusetts added eight hundred, and Connecticut fifteen hundred, men to the forces already under General Johnson's command."[1] And when New York complained that the funds granted by Parliament to the Colonies were not

(1)—Smith, Vol. ii. 261.

justly divided, the agent said, among other things, by the way of reply, that the New Englanders had "in a measure become the Swiss of the continent, in which quality they are not unacceptable."[1] In fact, this year Massachusetts had every fifth able-bodied man in the field.

It is true that the figures have been used to show that New York at this time contributed her full quota. Yet, in a crisis like that of 1755, there was no time to talk of *quotas*. The knife of the savage was at her throat, but there was no popular uprising; while Governor DeLancey, who affected considerable zeal, contented himself by sending the home government the preposterous story that New York had furnished three thousand men for Shirley's expedition to Niagara. It has been said that if the New England men did the fighting they were *paid* for it. But if they were paid they were not paid by New York. It would be every way unjust to view the New England troops as mercenaries. "Come," said Pomeroy, who represented the true spirit of New England, "come to the help of the Lord against the mighty; you that value your holy religion, and your liberties, will spare nothing, even to one half of your estate."

During the months of October and November, the troops were engaged in building a fort on the site now occupied by the Fort William Henry Hotel. It was named in honor of the Duke of Cumberland, brother of George III.

About this time a series of scouting expeditions

(1) — Smith, Vol. ii. 261.

was commenced. They were continued at intervals for two or three years. These expeditions were chiefly conducted by Rogers and his Rangers. He was often accompanied by Israel Putnam, who, in the Revolutionary army, ranked next to Washington.

October 14, Rogers, Putnam, and a soldier named Butterfield, embarked from Fort William Henry in a birch canoe for Crown Point, then in possession of the French. They landed nine miles from the outlet of the lake, and then travelled on foot to the vicinity of the fort where they lay in ambush. "At length," they say, "a frenchman Came out Towords us without his Gun and Came within fifteen Rods of Where we lay then I with another man Run up to him In order to Captivate him — But he Refused To Take Quorter so we Kill,d him and Took of his Scalp in plain sight of the fort then Run and in plain view about Twenty Rods and made our Escape."[1]

Such is the account signed by Rogers and Putnam; yet it is hard to believe that an unarmed man would refuse to take quarter, under the circumstances. We must rather put it down as one of those barbarous acts in which Rogers delighted.

One Captain Doolittle reports that he went on a scout to Ticonderoga, October 24, 1755, and that "after a tedias march over hills and holes we Indeavoured to Disscover ye french on this side ye Carrying Place but Could not hear of any of ye Choping or Shooting or Druming we went Down To the lake but Could not Disscover them." Crossing over to Ticon-

(1) — Doc. Hist. N. Y., Vol. i. p. 175.

deroga he saw the French from a distance "light up ye fires and Beat ye Drums there appears to be about 150 Tents [and] some small Boarden Housen." He afterwards attempted other observations, but a thick fog set in and "our Provision being spent Could tarrey no Longer God knows whether we Ever Get home if we Do I would Humbly Present these few Lines to Genl. Wm. Johnson."[1] This gives a fair idea of the literary character of these reports.

October 29, while the autumnal foliage of the lake was still in its glory, Robert Rogers and Israel Putnam went down the lake on a scout. On the 31st they "made a Discovry of a nomber of fires By night Scituated on a Point of Land on ye West Side of ye Lake," upon which they landed half a mile distant on the same side. The next morning they sent spies, who found four tents and some fires, whereupon Rogers sent back to Fort William Henry for reinforcements. He then took a boat and went down to within twenty-five rods of their fires, and discovered "a Small Fort with Several Small Log Camps within ye Fort which," he says, "I Judged to Contain about 1-1 of an acre. Said Fort being open towards ye Water The rest Picketted." The next morning, Putnam, who had also gone over to reconnoitre, returned and reported that the enemy's sentry was posted twenty rods from their fires. Putnam went forward until he came "so nigh that he was fired upon by one of ye Centeries within a Rod of him. But unfortunately upon Preparing to Fire upon him fell into a Clay Pit and wett his Gun

(1) — Doc. Hist. N. York, Vol. iv. p. 175.

made ye Best retreat he was able, hearing ye Enemy Close to their Heels."[1] Afterwards the French rallied and endeavored to bring the English between a cross fire on the lake; but the latter detected the ruse, launched their batteaux, and opened a fire with the swivels or "wall peices," which were mounted on board. This had the desired effect, and "divers" of the French were killed. Putnam, who at this juncture was on the shore, was in great danger again; but, hurriedly launching his batteau, he joined the rest of the party, though not before the enemy, who made him a special mark, had "Shot thro' his Blanket in Divers Places." Finally, the English "put ym to ye Bush." When they "Got fairly into ye Lake," says the report, we "Lay upon Our Oars and Inquired after the Circomstances of ye Party. Fonnd none Killed, but one Wounded which Gave Joy to all of us after so Long an Engagement which I Judge was near 2 Hours."[2] Putnam was now in training for the great work that he was afterwards to do in the War of the Revolution.

The report of James Connor of Colonel Cockcroft's regiment, who went on a scout November 5, shows the location of the stockaded fort which was the scene of Putnam's adventure. It appears that the French had now posted their advance guard on the east side of the Narrows. Connor found their fires on the night of November 5, when he fell back four miles and passed the next night in the mouth of a "little creek" on the east side — probably Shelving Fall Creek.

(1) — N. York Doc. Hist., Vol. iv. p. 176. (2) — Ib.

The next day he went with two men over the hills on the east side of the lake, until he came opposite the fort on the west side, where the lake was about three hundred yards wide. Here they saw the French come down to the water and carry up timber on hand-spikes to the encampment. They also heard "workmen chopping and hammering," and saw "a breastwork round their encampment with pickets."[1]

This was probably what is called Friend's Point, near Anthony's Nose, at least if their estimate of distances is correct. Connor says that he built a fire on an island twenty miles from Fort William Henry, though, according to his own statement, this island must have been *south* of the Narrows, which are only fourteen miles from the head of the lake. But his account is not perfectly clear, and, possibly, the location of the fort in question was at the more advantageous position afforded by Sabbath Day Point.

The scouting was carried on by the use of boats until the lake was frozen over, when it was continued by parties going over the ice with snow-shoes and sleds.

In 1756 the Earl of Loudon assumed the command of the English forces in North America. His plan contemplated a general attack upon the Canadas. One portion of his army was designed to move against Niagara; another was to attack Fort du Quesne; a third was to cross the country from Cambridge and operate on the river *Chaudiere*, while the fourth was to attack Crown Point. In accordance with this plan,

(1) — N. York Doc. Hist., Vol. iv. p. 178.

six thousand men now assembled near the head of Lake George to attack the latter position. The colonial authorities gave the command of this force to General Winslow, before Loudon reached New York; but when this came to his knowledge he wished to supersede Winslow by Abercrombie, who was one of the regular officers. Before this and similar disputes could be settled, the season passed away, and the troops were sent back to Albany and New York.

It is universally conceded that Loudon was a weak and inefficient commander, and totally disqualified for the position in which favoritism placed him. If remarkable for anything, it was for his insolence and tyranny; of the which the citizens of New York had no small experience. Franklin, in his Autobiography,[1] gives us a view of his character. It appears that Franklin had occasion to visit Lord Loudon's office in New York, where he met a Mr. Innis, who brought the despatches of Governor Denny from Philadelphia, the answer to which he expected the next day. Meeting him a fortnight afterwards, Dr. Franklin expressed his surprise because he had not returned. Mr. Innis explained that he had called every day, but the despatches were not ready. "Is it possible," said Franklin, "when he is so great a writer? I see him constantly at his escritoire." "Yes," said Innis, "but he is like St. George on the signs; always on horseback, but never rides forward."

At one time Loudon had no less than fifty thousand troops under his command, of which large number

(1) — Sparks' Life, p. 219.

fifteen thousand were from the Old Bay State, then not at all in danger. With this force, an able commander might have crushed out the entire population of Canada; and yet nothing was done for the country. This season, however, there was, as usual, more or less scouting, with frequent attacks by the French and Indians upon the English teamsters.

July 7. Rogers, being down the lake with his Rangers, took several French prisoners. This hard-hearted wretch coolly says in his official report, that "one of the wounded could not march: therefore put put an end to him to prevent discovery."[1] The circumstances of the case fully prove that this barbarous act admitted no justification.

July 18. Rogers went into the camp, near Saratoga, "with eight captives and *four scalps*."[2]

But though London did nothing during the summer, the cold season was not allowed to pass in quiet. March 18, 1757, a force of French and Indians under Rigaud, attempted to surprise Fort William Henry. After a careful examination of the position, Rigaud found that, owing to the vigilance of the garrison, it would be impossible to storm the fort. Accordingly, he turned his attention to the destruction of the bateaux and other vessels, in which attempt he was, at first, not very successful. The next day he invested the fort on all sides, and called upon the commander to surrender, which he refused to do, saying that he

(1) — Doc. Hist., Vol. iv. p. 185. (2) — From the unpublished MS Journal of the Rev. John Graham, Chaplain to the Connecticut troops.

should defend himself as long as possible. On the next night the French again resorted to the use of fire, and as the English opposed them with only a few shot and shells, they succeeded in burning more than three hundred batteaux, besides three sloops that were caught in the ice, and a storehouse filled with provisions and munitions of war. The absence of wind on that night saved the fort itself from destruction. The next two nights the snow prevented all operations. On the 22d a final attempt was made upon a new sloop on the stocks, whose bowsprit almost touched the bastion of the fort. In this they were successful. They also burned two other storehouses full of provisions, the hospital, a saw-mill, and more than twenty buildings.[1] On the 23d they decamped with a large amount of plunder.

Stark was in the fort at the time, and doubtless rendered good service; but the dramatic story of his saving the garrison from surprise, which is told in his Life, has no foundation in fact. The French did not attempt any assault, nor did they cut holes in the ice to dispose of the bodies of their slain, as that narrative claims.[2]

Emboldened by Rigaud's success, and influenced by the withdrawal of a large portion of the troops from the vicinity of the lake, who had been ordered away to Louisburg to share in the miserable failure of Lord Loudon, the commander-in-chief, Montcalm, determined to make one more attempt against Fort William

(1) — Col. Doc., Vol. x. p. 571. (2) — Stark's Memoir of John Stark, p. 20. Lossing's Field Book, Vol. i. p. 110.

Henry. Accordingly, on the 12th of July following, an army of nine thousand French and Indians, under Montcalm, left Montreal fully equipped, and with a formidable train of artillery.

The best account of the expedition is given by an eye-witness, Father Roubaud, who attended the Abenakis Indians as their priest and adviser. He says in his journal:[1] "We traversed the length of Lake Champlain, where the dexterity of the Indian furnished us with an amusing spectacle. Standing up in the bow of his canoe, with spear in hand, he darted it with wonderful address, and struck the large sturgeons, without their little skiffs, which the least irregular motion would have overturned, appearing to lean in the slightest degree to the right hand or the left. . . . The fisherman alone laid aside his paddle, but in return he was charged to provide for all the others, an office in whose duties he fully succeeded."

At the end of six days they came in sight of the fortifications at Ticonderoga, which place had been appointed as a general rendezvous for the forces. As the Indians approached the shore, they arranged themselves in the order of battle, each tribe under its own ensign. "Two hundred canoes thus formed in beautiful order," he says, "furnished a spectacle that caused even the French officers to hasten to the banks."

While the army lay at Ticonderoga, several preliminary engagements occurred on Lake George.

July 21, M. de St. Ours,[2] who was scouting at

(1) — Kip's Early Jesuit Missions, p. 144. (2) — Col. Doc., Vol. x. p. 594.

Isle a la Barque, with ten men, was attacked by five English barges, each carrying sixteen men. There were also one hundred English on the shore. Yet St. Ours made so good a defence that he was able to escape with the loss of four — three slightly, and one mortally, wounded. The English loss, though exaggerated by the French, was probably considerable. This took place at Harbor Island, a little south of Sabbath Day Point.

July 23, M. Marin, who had been sent toward Fort Edward with one hundred and fifty men, mostly Indians, attacked the English outposts, and inflicted considerable loss, returning to Ticonderoga in safety, with no less than thirty-two scalps.[1]

July 26, Colonel John Parker, of the New Jersey regiment, was sent down the lake to reconnoitre, with a large party of men in boats. He was severely defeated, his force being completely cut in pieces. The French report says that about four hundred Indians, under M. de Corbiere, lay in ambush among the islands above Sabbath Day Point, and that when Colonel Parker's party had advanced too far to retreat, they attacked and defeated them with great slaughter. Only two barges escaped, and one hundred and eighty of the English were taken prisoners. This was acknowledged to be a severe disaster.[2] No less than a hundred and thirty-one were killed outright by the savages, who pursued them by land and water, mercilessly cutting them down. Only twelve were so fortu-

(1) — Col. Doc., Vol. x. p. 591. (2) — ib., 594. Penn's Archives, iii. 472. Kip's Early Jesuits, p. 152.

nate as to escape both captivity and death. The prisoners were treated by the Indians with the most horrible barbarity. Father Ronband, who gives an account of their atrocities, hardly dared to raise his head, expecting to see the English murdered before his eyes. Eventually his fears proved too true, and he was obliged to witness a spectacle more horrible than anything he had yet seen. He writes: "My tent had been placed in the middle of the camp of the Outaouacs. The first object which presented itself to my eyes on arriving there, was a large fire, while the wooden spits fixed upon the earth gave signs of a feast. There was indeed one taking place. But, O heavens! what a feast! The remains of the body of an Englishman were there, the skin stripped off, and more than one half the flesh gone. A moment after, I perceived these inhuman beings eat with famishing avidity of this human flesh; I saw them take up this detestable broth in large spoons, and apparently without being able to satisfy themselves with it. They informed me that they had prepared themselves for this feast by drinking from skulls filled with human blood, while their smeared faces and stained lips gave evidence of the truth of the story. What rendered it more sad was, that they had placed very near them some ten Englishmen to be spectators of their infamous repast."

The good man was powerless in the midst of these barbarities, and his appeals in behalf of the prisoners were met by threats or gibes, the savages in one

(1) — Kip's Early Jesuits, p. 155.

instance replying by offering him a piece of broiled human flesh. The prisoners were at last taken out of their hands by Montcalm, and sent under guard to Montreal.

On the first of August the main body of the army finally embarked on Lake George, the Chevalier Levi having marched, three days previous, down the west side of the lake, with a force of three thousand men, to protect those who were to follow on the water. The barges sailed at two o'clock in the afternoon, and soon left "Bald Mountain," (Rogers Slide) "to the north." Afterwards they "doubled a cape," (Anthony's Nose) and remained there during a severe storm which lasted six hours. They also "tarried a short time opposite to the Sugar Loaf." Father Roubaud says that they had not gone more than four or five leagues before they saw the proofs of their victory of the 24th. He writes: "There were the abandoned English boats, . . . but the most striking spectacle was the great number of the dead bodies of the English." Some were lying on the banks, and others were floating in the water.

The next morning at daybreak, Father Roubaud reached "the Bay of Ganasouke," (Northwest Bay, near Bolton,) and landed near de Levi's camp. At 10 o'clock de Levi marched forward, and at noon Montcalm moved on in the boats, now with the artillery in the van. In the evening two boats came down the lake from Fort William Henry, while the fleet was quietly winding along the dusky shore of "Sandy Bay." The English, perceiving the boat which belonged to the priests, then covered by an awning,

steered for it unsuspectingly, as if too see what it was. As they approached, a sheep in the boat happened to bleat, when they took the alarm and endeavored to escape. The silence with which these operations had been conducted now ended, and twelve hundred savages suddenly flew to the pursuit, uttering the most horrid cries. The English first gained the land, deserted their boats, and fled to the woods; but not until four of their number had been killed and two taken prisoners. Father Rouband says that when the account of the affair came to Montcalm, he was "charmed with the detail," and retired to make his plans for the next day. During the night, however, the army continued to move on, and reached the bay on the west side of the lake, near Fort William Henry. The artillery did not arrive until daybreak. It consisted of thirty-two cannon and five mortars, placed on platforms and borne on boats. In passing around the point, now called Cramer's Point, the batteries came in full view of the English, who were saluted by a "general discharge," which at "this time was mere ceremony, but it announced more serious matters."

The lake now resounded on all hands with the sounds of war, and everything was in motion. Fort William Henry, which the French sometimes called Fort George, is described by Father Rouband as "a square, flanked by four bastions: the curtains were strengthened with stakes, the trenches were sunk to the depth of eighteen or twenty feet." The walls were built of pine trees covered with sand. It mounted nineteen cannon and four or five mortars, while the garrison consisted of five hundred men. Seventeen

hundred men occupied a fortified camp on the site of the ruins of Fort George. Montcalm landed on the west side of the lake, a short distance from the Lake House, and planted his batteries about seven hundred yards from the fort. He afterwards marched his regular troops to a position south of the fort, sending LaCorne with seventeen hundred French and Indians a little further on, where they could hold the road leading to Fort Edward. He then called upon Colonel Munroe to surrender, which demand he positively declined, as he was expecting immediate reinforcements from General Webb.

The siege lasted six days, during which time the fort was defended with great vigor, though without much loss of life on either side. Aid was earnestly requested of General Webb, whose troops were anxious to march to the rescue: but that cowardly officer finally decided to do nothing, and advised Colonel Munroe to surrender, who, seeing the hopelessness of his situation, agreed to capitulate. On the morning of August 9, at seven o'clock, a white flag was hoisted on the fort, and the surrender was made on the conditions that the garrison and the troops of the intrenched camp should march out with the honors of war, carrying away arms and baggage, and take with them one cannon, out of respect for the gallant defence they had made, and be furnished with a sufficient escort to Fort Edward. The French accordingly took possession at noon.

Father Roubaud says that the terms of capitulation were submitted to the Indian chiefs, and that the articles were "universally applauded." Yet the com-

pact was soon violated in the most horrible manner. The Indians were thirsting for blood and plunder, and even while the military ceremony of taking possession was going on, they penetrated through the embrasures of the fort into the casemates where the sick remained who could not march out of the fort with their companions. Some of these were among the first victims of savage cruelty. Father Roubaud witnessed their atrocities. He writes: "I saw one of these barbarians come forth out of the casemates, which nothing but the most insatiate avidity for blood could induce him to enter, for the infected atmosphere which exhaled from it was insupportable. He carried in his hand a human head, from which streams of blood were flowing, and which he paraded as the most valuable prize he had been able to seize." "But," he continues, "this was only a slight prelude to the tragedy of the morrow. Early in the morning the Indians began to assemble about the intrenchments, demanding of the English everything valuable which their greedy eyes could perceive. . . Nor were these requirements rejected by the English. They undressed, they stripped themselves, to purchase their lives." In the meanwhile the troops detailed to attend them on the march to Fort Edward, arrived and hastily formed, and the English began to file out. Says Father Roubaud: "Woe to those who closed the march, or the stragglers whom illness or any other reason separated from the main body! They were as good as dead, and their lifeless bodies soon covered the ground. . . . This butchery, which was at first only the work of a few savages, became the signal which transformed

them into so many ferocious beasts. They discharged right and left heavy blows with their hatchets on those who came within their reach."

The number that fell in massacre, which filled the public mind with horror, varies greatly. Father Roubaud says the number killed did not exceed forty or fifty, and adds: "The patience of the English in thus being contented to bow their heads to the weapons of the executioner, had the effect of shortly stopping the slaughter; but," he adds, "this did not turn the savages either to reason or equity. With fearful cries they engaged themselves in making prisoners."

The most of the accounts of this affair are wild exaggerations, the loss by death and captivity being placed at from five hundred to fifteen hundred. The first victims were the negroes and friendly Indians.[1] Speaking of the conduct of the former during the siege, one of the gunners wrote that "Our blacks behaved better than the whites."[2]

It would be difficult to exonerate Montcalm from all blame. He might have anticipated the events that occurred, and provided a sufficient safeguard. Le Corne, who indeed promised much in the way of protection to the English, did little; and Carver, in his journal, mentions one French soldier who repulsed the English with abusive language when they appealed for protection. Yet it would be unjust to ignore the conduct of many of the French officers and soldiers

(1) — Hoyt says that one friendly Indian was *burned*. Ant. Researches, p. 290. (2) — Col. Doc., Vol. vi. p. 1005.

who hazarded their own lives to save those of the English. Father Roubaud, the good priest of the Abenakis, was every way true to his profession, and labored earnestly to rescue the victims of savage cruelty. Among others, an infant separated from its mother, and had fallen into the hands of a relentless chief, who threatened it with death, unless ransomed by a *scalp*. This child was saved by the priest, who obtained a scalp from the stock of one of his own Indians. Father Roubaud, after getting possession of the child, carried it in his arms until he secured an English woman to act as its nurse. This woman had possession of the child but a few hours before its mother appeared, and, frantic with joy, clasped it in her arms.

That class of writers who furnish what may be called the Apocrypha of history, have delighted in wild exaggerations of this event. Drawing their material from the crudest sensation accounts of the day, they have not hesitated to record as facts the most improbable fancies. It is to be regretted that these accounts have crept into so many of our popular school histories, in one of which, now extensively used, we are informed that when Montcalm went away, he left the dead bodies of one hundred women shockingly mangled and weltering in their blood. The account is based upon a supposed letter of Putnam's[1] that was never written, and is of the same authority as that favorite but now exploded story of the school-boy, which relates Putnam's descent into the wolf's den.

(1) — Lossing's Field Book, Vol. i. p. 111.

National enmity has had much to do with these misrepresentations of Montcalm, who was every way a noble and humane man, as well as the ablest general of his day in all North America. Yet Smollet, in his History of England, did not hesitate to lay upon him (in addition to the massacre of Fort William Henry) the charge of giving up twenty English soldiers at the capture of Oswego, the previous year, to be butchered by the Indians. The charge, however, was thoroughly refuted at the time by an official investigation. The real author of the calamity of Fort William Henry, was Lord Loudon, who left the country exposed to the enemy.

The French delayed at Fort William Henry until August 16. On the previous night the fort was completely destroyed by fire, and while the ruins were still wreathed in smoke, Montcalm embarked and sailed down the lake. We conclude the account of this sad event in the language of Bancroft, who says: "The Canadian peasants returned to gather their harvests, and the lake resumed its solitude. Nothing told that living men had reposed upon its margin, but charred rafters of ruins, and here and there, on the hill-side, a crucifix among the pines to mark a grave."[1]

On the following year another large army assembled at the head of the lake for the purpose of reducing Ticonderoga, and atoning for the acts of the French in the previous year. It was commanded by General Abercrombie, who had succeeded Lord Loudon. The

(1) — Bancroft's U. S., Vol. iv. p. 266.

campaign was planned with great confidence, and was inaugurated by scouts and skirmishes. On the 23d of June three separate detachments of Rogers' Rangers were sent out on the lake to reconnoitre; and on Wednesday morning, July 5, at eight o'clock, the well-appointed army, now sixteen thousand strong, embarked in more than one thousand boats and batteaux. The day was one of unusual beauty, and scarcely a cloud obscured the sky. The fleet was arranged in complete military order. The Regulars sailed in the centre, the Provincials on the left, and the Light Infantry on the right of the advanced guard. The army was composed of fine and varied material. There was the sturdy, brown-faced farmer from Massachusetts and Connecticut, the determined, phlegmatic Dutchman, the hardy Englishman, the dashing Green-Mountain Boy, and the intrepid Scot. Lord Howe's regiment was one of much note, while its young commander was the "Lycurgus" of the whole army, being evidently of much more importance than Abercrombie himself.

The troops moved in high spirits, confident of an easy victory. But few more splendid scenes have ever been witnessed. The lines of boats adorned with streamers and flags, the troops clad in bright national colors, the burnished arms, the insignia of rank, the placid water, the long banks of oars dipping to martial notes, and the bright summer sun shining down upon all — formed a display of rare beauty. Not the least conspicuous part of the pageant was the Highland Regiment, of which old Duncan Campbell,

of Invershaw, was Major. They could not have appeared to finer advantage even on their own bright Loch Katrine. Moving out from under the shadow of the French Mountain, they sail on towards the verdant isles, as if performing some holiday parade, reminding us of Scott's picture in the Lady of the Lake:

> "Now you might see the tartans brave,
> And plaids and plumage dance and wave;
> Now see the bonnet sink and rise,
> As his tough oar the rower plies;
> See flashing at each sturdy stroke,
> The wave ascending into smoke;
> See the proud pipers on the bow,
> And mark the gaudy streamers flow
> From their loud chanters down, and sweep
> The furrowed bosom of the deep,
> As rushing through the lake amain,
> They plied the ancient Highland strain."

The fleet continued on its course all day until dusk, when they reached Sabbath Day Point. Here they remained until eleven o'clock, waiting for three brigades and the artillery; and when these came up all moved on. At nine o'clock the next morning, they arrived at the foot of the lake, disembarked, and marched towards the French outworks. The route lay through dense forests; and being led by unskilful guides, the troops fell into some disorder, though still able to move on. Lord Howe led the right centre column, and when near Trout Brook, encountered the party of De Trepazec, less than three hundred in number, returning from a scout at Rogers' Slide. The French opened fire, and at the first volley Lord Howe was killed by a musket-ball. This threw the English into still greater confusion, but they rallied

and attacked the French with such impetuosity, that nearly the whole body was either killed, wounded, or made prisoners. De Trepazee himself was mortally wounded. By this engagement the English gained nothing, except the forest, in which the principal portion of the troops passed the night. An officer who wrote a letter to a New York paper, speaks of the action as highly discreditable to the English, who behaved badly, on the whole, and at one time came near being beaten by a mere handful of men.

The next morning, the 7th instant, Abercrombie withdrew the whole army to the landing-place. Colonel Bradstreet then went forward to rebuild the bridges. In the afternoon the main body of the army advanced to attack the French works. The assault was made with much spirit. Three times the English were repulsed, and as often returned to the charge; but "at the end of four hours, after a series of efforts that would have done honor to the soldiers of Cæsar, and an exhibition of valor that would have rivalled the most romantic days of chivalry," the army, about seven o'clock, was ordered to retire, though not before the English had fired by mistake upon one of their own corps. The night was spent at the landing, and Saturday morning the army embarked and rowed sadly up the lake, arriving at Fort George on Sunday evening, the 9th. No corps suffered more than the Highlanders, who, until now, with one exception, — the Battle of Fontenoy, in 1745, — had always been completely successful. Three times they mounted the French works, but not being supported they were forced to retire. Gray-haired Duncan Campbell fell

at the head of his regiment, with John Campbell the commander, who was succeeded by Colonel Gordon Graham. During the battle, Abercrombie remained at a safe distance, and not a single piece of artillery was used by the English, who, under a general of respectable spirit and capacity, would have easily captured Ticonderoga. During the day Abercrombie ordered a movement against the enemy's left wing; but after several boats had been sunk by the artillery of the French the attempt was given up. This is a point that the most careful writers have failed to notice.[1]

The inglorious campaign was not terminated, however, before Colonel Bradstreet marched from the lake with twenty-seven hundred men and destroyed the French forts at Frontenac. When this had been accomplished, Bradstreet returned to the lake, and the bulk of Abercrombie's army went into winter quarters at Albany, New York, and elsewhere.

The next year Abercrombie was removed, and Lord Amherst was appointed in his place. This able general accomplished the reduction of Ticonderoga with but little loss of life. Before the campaign opened, Rogers was active on the lake with his Rangers. March 3, he left the head of the lake with three hundred and fifty-eight men, and proceeded on the ice to the Narrows, and afterwards went on to Ticonderoga. There he suffered a severe defeat from the French and Indians, and returned by the way of Sabbath Day Point to Long Island, about five miles from Fort

(1)—N. Y. Col. Doc., Vol. x. p. 846.

William Henry. At this place he encamped on the night of the 8th. The next day he went to Fort Edward, carrying the wounded on sleds.

June 21, General Amherst, accompanied by General Gage, moved to Lake George with a portion of the forces, composed of the Royal Highlanders and Provincials, who at once busied themselves in strengthening the camp.

On the 27th, some English officers fishing at Diamond Island were surprised by the French scouts and nearly captured. July 1, troops to the number of fifteen hundred, under Colonel Montressor, were busy building a stone fort,[1] afterwards called Fort George, having in the meantime erected a temporary stockade. July 2, the enemy was extremely bold, notwithstanding the preparations of Amherst. On that day sixteen of the Jersey Blues had gone out from the fort to get brushwood for the ovens, and were attacked by two hundred and forty French, who killed and scalped six, wounded two, took four prisoners, and only four escaped. The French raised a loud halloo, and displayed the scalps in plain sight of the fort, and then ran to their canoes, which were only two miles from the head of the lake.[2]

July 3, the most of the articles buried by Abercrombie, at the close of the previous season, still remained undiscovered, though the French had found and raised a battery of eight pieces sunk in the lake. July 5, the "Halifax Sloop,"[3] mounting fourteen guns,

(1)—Knox Jour., Vol. i. p. 378. (2)—N. Y. *Mercury*, July 9, 1759. (3)—"On the 11th. instant was launched here, in 13 Days from laying the Keel, the Sloop Earl of Halifax, 51 Feet Keel, about 100

which had been sunk to prevent capture, was successfully raised. July 12, Major Campbell and four hundred men embarked in batteaux and "proceeded to the islands on the lake to drive the enemy from thence," taking a floating battery of one twelve-pound gun. The French were driven away, and their "works and huts" destroyed and burned. The name of the islands in question is not given. The French lost one canoe and all the men in it.

The preparations for the expedition having been made with great care, the army, composed of more than eleven thousand men, embarked in whaleboats and batteaux, on the morning of the 21st of July, and moved down the lake in four columns, the sloop Halifax sailing in the rear. The soldiers rowed by turns. An incredible amount of labor was spent in embarking, and some of the boats proved useless. One, with a hundred barrels of powder, sunk before leaving the shore; likewise a raft with two ten-inch mortars.

At ten o'clock the army reached the Narrows, and after pausing a short time moved on with a fresh breeze and a hazy sky. At night the expedition moored,[1] the weather being rough with "a disagreeable tumbling sea." The next day was Sunday, July 23, but at daylight the fleet proceeded, and in a few hours reached the foot of the lake. The army landed with-

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Tons Burthen, built by the direction of Commodore Loring and Col. Bagley. Her rigging being fitted, expected she will sail on a cruise on the Lake, in a day or two." Letter from Lake George, Aug. 21, 1758. (1) — Probably below Sabbath Day Point.

out delay, and marched for Fort Ticonderoga. They reached the enemy's intrenchments after some light skirmishing, and the troops lay upon their arms all night. In the morning, seeing General Amherst drawing up his artillery, and finding that he had also launched batteaux in the lake, the French abandoned their intrenchments, of which the English took possession, in the face of a brisk fire, and began preparations for a siege; but at ten o'clock on the night of the 26th, some deserters from the French came in, announcing that the enemy had evacuated the fort and were retreating. Very soon after the magazine blew up and set the wood-work on fire. The flames rapidly communicated with the loaded guns and shell, and for a time created a continuous fire. The next morning a sergeant went into the fort, at the risk of his life, and hauled down the French flag. Thus the fort was taken with a loss of only thirty or forty in killed and wounded. This might have been done the year before.

But Lord Amherst, though a brave and faithful officer, failed to take advantage of his success. Instead of moving at once against the French, and to the aid of Wolfe, he delayed to rebuild the works at Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and prepare batteaux, until more than two months had slipped away, when the season was too far advanced to begin operations. The French army was not more than one fourth as large as his own, and Montcalm never seriously intended to hold Ticonderoga, where it was impossible for him to receive reinforcements, and yet they were allowed to escape down Champlain. Nevertheless, his victory

brought comparative peace to the shores of Lake George, and ultimately removed the contest towards the Canadas, so that on September 21, Lieutenant-Governor DeLancey issued a proclamation calling upon the settlers to return once more to their homes, where they lived in quiet until the war of the Revolution.

In the meanwhile, many of those who had served in the wars applied to the Colony of New York for grants of land around the lake. Among them was Rogers the Ranger, who, with twenty-five others, applied for twenty-five thousand acres of land on the west side of Lake George, extending from Fort William Henry to Tongue Mountain. It may also be noted, that here, in 1776, Rogers, being then a Tory, renewed the application to the British authorities, coolly proposing "Rogers' Mount," as the name of the grant.

April 20, 1773, Mr. Samuel Deall, a merchant of New York, who was much interested in building mills and improving the lands around Ticonderoga, petitioned for the exclusive right to establish a ferry across Lake George, though the right was not granted. He was associated in the improvements here with one Lieutenant Stoughton, who was drowned on the lake near the close of the year 1767, when his boat went to the bottom with all its valuable freight.

About this time the settlers had become quite numerous. As early as 1768, Mr. Deall had a small vessel on the lake called the "Petty Anger,"[1] which

(1)—This is probably a mistake of the printer. It should read

was designed to traverse the lake, "if any freight offers worth going over." It was in charge of one John Jones, who lived near Fort William Henry.

The Indians came here in the summer season in considerable numbers, feeling that they had a tolerable right to the soil. They were not always peaceably tolerated, as appears from the following account of Levi Beardsley, who says his grandfather, before the Revolution, made annual excursions to the great forests bordering on Lake George, the favorite hunting-ground of the Iroquois. He tells that on one occasion, "coming near a swampy piece of ground, his companion remarked that game was plenty in that neighborhood, and asked him to walk with him to the edge of the swamp, where some one had shot a large buck a few days before. They repaired to the spot, where his companion pulled away a few pieces of rotten wood, that had been thrown on a large Indian, who lay there partly stamped in the mud. I have no suspicion," he says, "that my grandfather ever shot, or encouraged the shooting of Indians, but it is very certain, that he occasionally associated with those who indulged in this interesting business. Those times were perilous," he continues, "and conflicts frequent between the white and red man. . . . They were inev-

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"Petti-auga,"—a small vessel or ship. The following extract from Dunlap's New York, (Vol. ii,, Appen., p. 177,) gives a correct idea of this class of vessels, in one of which Mr. Vanderbilt began his career as a Staten-Island ferryman: "A perri augur or petty auga, a boat without keel, with two masts and two large sails, the lack of keel supplied by lee-boards—all these managed by one man, who was likewise helmsman, and very frequently drunk."

itable, and of no uncommon occurrence; for it was a question whether the red man alone should enjoy the game of the country."[1]

The handful of military stationed at Ticonderoga, were now chiefly useful in preserving the peace among the lawless inhabitants of the New-Hampshire Grants, which extended as far south as the head of the lake. Prominent among the New-Hampshire men, who, at times, invaded the territory of New York, was Colonel Ethan Allen, who often played the part of a swaggering brigand. The fortifications were now, also, in a bad condition. In 1768, Fort George was practically abandoned. In April, 1773, the fort at Crown Point caught fire, and the magazine, containing one hundred barrels of powder, blew up, completely destroying the works. The minutes of the Council at the close of the following September, say that Ticonderoga was in so ruinous a condition, that there was no accommodation for more than about fifty men. In 1774, Governor Tryon reported that "only a few men were kept at the south end of Lake George to facilitate the transportation of supplies to Ticonderoga and Crown Point;" from which it appears that the British authorities were but poorly prepared for the events about to take place.

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(1) — Beardsley's Reminiscences, p. 16. (2) — Doc. Hist., N. Y., i. p. 518.

REVOLUTIONARY SCENES.

PART II.

THE War of the Revolution broke out in 1775, and was signalized at Lake George by an earthquake, which did no harm. But the lake at once became the theatre of exciting events, as it still formed a part of the central route between Albany and Montreal. The English felt the importance of keeping possession of this route, and one of their journals of that date says, that, in event of its being held by the Americans, the British troops would be brought around to New York by water, as another campaign could not be thrown away in "frog-battles" on the lakes. Yet Burgoyne ultimately thought differently.

The Americans, however, were on the alert, and the New-Englanders resolved on the seizure of Ticonderoga, which was the key of the whole position. This was accomplished by Benedict Arnold and Ethan Allen, on the morning of May 10, without the loss of a man. And serious efforts were recently made to show that a similar exploit was performed at Fort George, two days afterward. One account, which not long since appeared, stated that on the reception of the news of the Battle of Lexington, one Daniel Parks, of Queensbury, raised a band of volunteers and after-

wards marched to Fort George, which, together with "Fort Gage," was garrisoned by two companies of artillery. On his arrival at the fort his demonstrations were so impressive as to cause the garrison to flee down the lake to Diamond Island, where they intrenched. The commander, it appears, was left behind, and, on surrendering his sword, is represented as telling Parks that his neck would "stretch" for "this thing." According to the representations given, this alleged action of Daniel Parks was quite as meritorious as the capture of Ticonderoga. But though it may seem a pity to spoil a story, we nevertheless have abundant means for proving the account a fabrication.

It has already been shown that the fort was abandoned eight years before this time, while Governor Tryon reported that the year previous only a few men lived there to forward supplies; while "Fort Gage," the little earthwork on a neighboring eminence, which was probably erected in 1759 by General Amherst, never possessed a garrison or a gun. The position at the head of the lake had at this period lost its former importance, and therefore it is not *reasonable* to suppose, that while no effort was made to strengthen more commanding posts, Fort George had been reinforced by two companies of artillery. Indeed, this was a force superior to all the other garrisons combined. Besides, the intercepted despatches of General Carlton to General Gage, show that the total number of British troops in Canada at this time numbered only seven hundred and twenty-five, including the garrisons at Ticonderoga, Skenesborough, and Crown

Point. The condition of affairs at the lake, prior to 1775, would constitute a sufficient denial of the story of Parks.

And the documentary evidence of the year 1775, goes to show that everything remained unchanged, except that fewer persons lived near the fort. May 12, there were only two persons at the fort, who were engaged in the express business. The fort had no commander, but the lake had a nominal "Governor"; and the apprehension and dismissal of this person has furnished the only ground for the romance of Daniel Parks. The person thus treated was Mr. John Nordberg,[1] formerly an officer in the English army. In 1774, as a reward for his military services, he was

(1) — Mr. Nordberg was a native of Sweden, where he was born in 1710. Favoring the French faction there, he was persecuted, and left Sweden. He entered the British service in January, 1758, as one of the foreign officers of the Royal Americans. He served in the French war, receiving two wounds. He afterwards went with his battalion to the West Indies. In 1773 he went to England, being invalidated, but returned to America the next year as Governor of Lake George. May the 12th, (*not* April, as Governor Tryon says, in Col. Doc., Vol. viii. p. 597,) he was apprehended at his cottage and sent away. December 15, the Provincial Congress gave him liberty to remove to England; but it appears that he remained in New York, where he died October 9, 1782. See Jour. Prov. Congress of N. Y., Vol. i. p. 220. We also find the following in Henry's travels at Lake Superior, 1771, p. 231: "Mr. Norburg, a Russian gentleman, acquainted with metals, and holding a commission in the sixtieth regiment, and then in garrison at Michilimackinac, accompanied us on this latter expedition. As we rambled, examining the *thods*, or loose stones, in search of minerals, Mr. Norburg chanced to meet with one, of eight pounds weight, of a blue color, and semi-transparent. This he carried to England, where it produced in the proportion of sixty pounds of silver to a hundred weight of ore. It was reposited in the British Museum. The same Mr. Norburg was shortly afterward appointed to the government of Lake George."

appointed "Governor" of Lake George, an office without duties. The terms of his appointment left him at liberty to reside *anywhere* in America. At the period referred to, he was living, not in Fort George, but in a cottage near by, where, being an old man, and an invalid, he passed his time after the manner of a hermit, gladly escaping from the political discussions of the day. And the records show that Mr. Nordberg was actually visited by a party who went through the form of an arrest, but afterwards gave him a passport to New Lebanon. The person who took this responsibility was Captain Bernard Romans, a member of the Connecticut Committee appointed to take possession of "Ticonderoga and its dependencies."[1]

Several writers, in giving an account of the action of the Connecticut Committee, state that Romans left his associates at Bennington, and did not appear until he came to Ticonderoga, May 14. Mott says in his journal: "Mr. Romans left us and joined us no more; we were all glad, as he had been a trouble to us, all the time he was with us."[2]

It appears that Romans, finding it impossible to manage the other members of the Committee, with reference to the surprise of Ticonderoga, decided to seize Fort George on his own account. This was certainly included in the instructions of the Committee, and it was the only thing left him to do, as the surprise of Skenesborough was already provided for. Therefore, without consulting any one, he went to

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(1) — See Appendix. I. (2) — Conn. Hist. Col., Vol. i. p. 169.

the head of the lake, took possession of what time and the weather had left of Fort George, and sent away Mr. Nordberg to New Lebanon.

Romans felt that the capture of an abandoned fort was not a thing to boast of, and therefore gave no publicity to his action. It has never even been mentioned in connection with the capture of Ticonderoga.

Daniel Parks *may* have followed in the train of Captain Romans, and may also have been a member of the garrison, when it was soon after found necessary to maintain a small force at this point; but that he raised troops for the capture of what he knew to be a ruinous and deserted work, is not to be supposed for a moment. Mott says in his Journal, that they sent men "to waylay the roads" leading to "Fort Edward and Lake George,"[1] for the express purpose of *preventing* alarm in what was, on the whole, a Tory neighborhood. Indeed, it has not been proved that Parks was on the ground at the time in *any* capacity. Still, there is a monument in the burying-ground at Sandy Hill which states that he was the man to whom the British officer surrendered Fort George. But, as shown from the above account, the fort had neither garrison nor commander. The story is a myth.

From a document[2] never before published, we learn the outside cost of the work of Captain Romans, which probably was less than thirty shillings. The document is also of value, in showing what disposition was made of the British prisoners taken at Ticonderoga.

(1) — Conn. Hist. Coll., Vol. i. p. 169. (2) — See Appendix. H

Soon after Mr. Nordberg's dismissal, the colonial authorities found it necessary to establish a small garrison at Lake George, chiefly for the purpose of forwarding supplies to the troops operating on Lake Champlain.

May 25, it was voted by the Continental Congress to leave the authorities of New York to decide what troops should be stationed at Lake George. May 30, New York not having raised any troops, Governor Trumbull, of Connecticut, ordered one thousand men, under Colonel Hinman, to Ticonderoga, where four hundred of them arrived about the middle of June. July 1, there were upwards of one hundred men stationed at each end of the lake.

Major General Philip Schuyler, of New York, having been appointed to the command of the Northern department, went down Lake George, July 17, arriving at Ticonderoga the next morning, when he formally superseded Colonel Hinman, who had previously displaced Benedict Arnold from the command. We may judge of the degree of discipline which was maintained at this time by the following extract from his letter to Washington. He writes:

"About ten, last night, I arrived at the landing-place, at the north end of Lake George, a post occupied by a captain and one hundred men. A sentinel on being informed I was in the boat, quitted his post to go and awaken the guard, consisting of three men, in which he had no success. I walked up and came to another, a sergeant's guard. Here the sentinel challenged, but suffered me to come up to him, the whole guard, like the first, in the soundest sleep."[1]

(1)—Letters to Washington, Vol. i. p. 6.

July 21, there were two hundred and thirty-three men of Colonel Goose Van Schaick's regiment, at or near Fort George. About this time the soldiers at Fort George were in a mutinous condition, and suffered greatly for the want of blankets, so that several of their officers, when visiting at Albany, professed that they did not dare to return without them.

The operations of the Americans this year were conducted by Schuyler and Montgomery. The army was supplied with food and war material by the transports on Lake George. Early in the campaign Schuyler was forced by sickness to leave the field, and Montgomery captured Fort St. John and Montreal. In the attack upon Quebec he failed, after a siege of three weeks, which ended in an assault that cost his own life, and the surrender of a portion of the troops who penetrated into the lower town. The remaining portion of the invading army wintered at Sillery. On the first of April, 1776, Wooster, who had succeeded to the command, made another attempt upon Quebec, but failed. Soon after the English received reinforcements, and the Americans were obliged to retire.

A more efficient commander being needed in Canada, General Thomas was appointed, and his army was made independent of the department under Schuyler. He at once moved toward the scene of action, hoping to stay the tide of defeat. April 17, he passed down the lake, and the next day forty batteaux started, carrying five hundred troops. On the 19th, a person at the lake, writing, says: "The whole of the troops that are now on the lake and here, will amount to

upwards of fifteen hundred men; so that I think we shall make a very respectable figure before Quebec when we all arrive." They never arrived; and General Thomas died of the small-pox.

At this time Benjamin Franklin, Samuel Chase, and Charles Carroll reached the lake. They had been appointed by Congress, as Commissioners, to proceed to Canada and negotiate with the authorities there. They were accompanied in this mission by the Rev. John Carroll, afterwards the Roman Catholic Bishop of Baltimore. The account of this trip across Lake George is given by Charles Carroll in his journal.[1] Portions of the journal are of sufficient interest to be reproduced here:

"April 19, 1776. We embarked about one o'clock, in company with General Schuyler, and landed in Montcalm's Bay, about four miles from Lake George. After drinking tea we again embarked, and went about three or four miles further; then landed (the sun being set) and kindled fires. The longest of the boats, made for transportation of troops over Lakes George and Champlain, are thirty-six feet in length and eight feet wide; they draw about a foot of water when loaded, and carry between thirty and forty men, and are rowed by the soldiers. They have a mast fixed in them, to which a square sail or blanket is fastened, but these sails are of no use, unless with the wind abaft, or nearly so. After we left Montcalm's Bay, we were delayed considerably in getting through the ice; but, with the help of tent-poles, we opened

(1) — Baltimore, 1860. Published by the Maryland Hist. Society.

ourselves a passage through it into free water. The boats fitted up to carry us across, had awnings over them, under which we made up our beds, and my fellow-travellers slept very comfortably. We left the place, where we passed the night, very early on the 20th.

"20th. We had gone some miles before I arose; soon after I got out of bed, we found ourselves entangled in the ice. We attempted, but in vain, to break through it in one place, but were obliged to desist and force our passage through another, which we effected with much difficulty. At eight o'clock we landed to breakfast. After breakfast, the general looked to his small boat; being desirous to reach the landing at the north end of Lake George, we set off together; but the general's boat, and the other boat with part of the luggage, soon got before us a considerable way. After separating, we fell luckily in with the boat bringing the Montreal and Canada mail. Dr. Franklin found in the mail a letter for General Schuyler. When we had weathered Sabaty point, we stood over for the western shore of the lake, and a mile or two below the point we were overtaken by the general, from whom we learned the cause of his delay. Mr. Chase and myself went on board the general's boat, and reached the landing-place at the south [north] end of Lake George, nearly two hours before the other boats. Lake George lies nearly north and south. . . . Its shores are remarkably steep, high, and rocky, (particularly the east shore), and are covered with pine and cedar, or what is here termed hemlock; the country is wild and appears utterly incapable of

cultivation; it is a fine deer country, and likely to remain so, for I think it never will be inhabited. I speak of the shores, and am told that the country inland resembles these.

"The season was not sufficiently advanced to admit of catching fish, a circumstance that we had reason to regret, as they are so highly prized by connoisseurs in good eating, and as one of our company is so excellent a judge of this science."[1]

The Commissioners accomplished no good by their visit to Montreal, and the party returned by South Bay and Fort Edward.

May 31, General Schuyler was now at the lake, having his headquarters at Fort George. About this time he was visited by Mr. Graydon, who came to the lake to bring money for the troops. Speaking of the journey between Fort Edward and the lake, he says: "It was almost an entire wood, acquiring a deeper gloom, as well from the general prevalence of pines, as from its dark, extended covert, being presented to the imagination as an appropriate scene for the 'treasons, stratagems and spoils' of savage hostility."[2]

He was received at the lake by Schuyler with great cordiality and respect, and appears to have heartily approved his tactics in dealing with the New-England

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(1) — Mr. Carroll writes under date of April 5, when the Commissioners were ascending the Hudson: "Just before we doubled Cape Anthony's Nose, Mr. Chase and I landed to examine a beautiful fall of water. Mr. Chase, apprehensive of the leg of mutton being boiled too much, was impatient to get on board." (2) — Memoirs, p. 142.

troops under his command. Graydon bears testimony to his irritability, but thinks that the New-England men deserved the contemptuous treatment which they received at his hands, a very striking instance of which is recorded. Eventually, however, his policy failed. As Greene observes: "New-England men could not persuade themselves that the man who, in his official intercourse with them, could not command his 'peevishness' was qualified to command them."[1] This remark is conceived in the spirit of that ancient declaration, which teaches that the ability to rule one's spirit is a truer mark of greatness than the capacity to take a city; yet, if mutual forbearance had been exercised, Schuyler might, perhaps, have continued in command of this department to the end, and finally achieved the victory that afterwards crowned the efforts of Gates.

A polished gentleman of the old school, General Philip Schuyler carried all his high-bred courtliness into the camp, where he found it difficult to recognize the worth of those New-England men, who, at times, like many of their fellow patriots of New York, possessed noble and disinterested natures, veiled under a rude garb and ordinary mien. Hence, the mutual dislike and open hostility which afterwards had so much to do in removing this able soldier and wise statesman from the command of the Department of the North.

But let us not anticipate events. July 17, General Gates, who, a month previous, had succeeded Thomas

(1) — Life of General Greene, Vol. i. p. 436. Graydon, p. 143.

in command of the army, which had now been driven far out of Canada, issued an order from his head-quarters at Ticonderoga, forbidding "the wanton waste of powder" at Fort George. Powder was at this time scarce, and a rebuke was perhaps needed, yet Gates, having entered the department of his superior, had no authority to administer it. Nine days before, the question of jurisdiction had come up in Congress, and the decision was against Gates, who was ordered to act in harmony with Schuyler, and restrict the use of his authority to his own immediate command.

October 1, Schuyler wrote to General Gates, saying that a blow at Fort George was probably meditated by the English, to destroy the communications of the American forces, and recommended a reinforcement. No harm came, however; yet in the following November the New York Committee of Safety wrote that the Tories had a plan to seize and hold Fort George, in connection with the Indians and Canadians. This, likewise, was simply an ungrounded fear, as on the ninth of the same month General Gates writes somewhat tartly to Colonel Gansevort, because he kept the boats and provisions at Fort George, and sent forward no flour, telling him that "there is not an enemy within a hundred miles of the post."

Several writers have stated that about this time a severe battle was fought by a party of American militia of Saratoga county,[1] who met a band of Tories and Indians near Sabbath Day Point, when

(1) — Lossing's Field Book, Vol. i. p. 116.

the former achieved a victory. Yet this story does not appear in print until a very recent date. The following paragraph from Mr. Neilson's little book on Burgoyne's campaign, contains the *only* authority found thus far. He says, speaking of events at this time, "My [step] grandfather, at the head of fifty men, had a desperate encounter with about eighty Indians and Tories at Sabbath Day Point, in which the enemy were defeated, with a loss of forty killed and wounded."[1]

Unfortunately, however, the chronicles of the day, which gave minute accounts of every skirmish, say nothing whatever either about such an engagement or victory. The only traces found by the author, of a conflict at this place appear in a fragment of a manuscript letter now in the State archives at Albany. It was written by "J. Deane, Indian Interpreter" to General Schuyler, and bears date of June 25, 1777. In the course of his remarks he speaks of "the warriors of Aghnejasne, who took a party of our people at Sabbath Day Point."[2] In the absence of reliable testimony, we shall therefore feel obliged to receive with extreme caution Nelson's account of a victory at the above place. Lossing repeats Nelson's story, but gives no authority. So important an engagement would certainly have been mentioned in some document or newspaper of the day.[3]

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(1)—Burgoyne's Campaign, p. 85. (2)—Miss. Papers, 1777, Vol. xxxviii. p. 20. (3)—The author has not been able to learn even the *name* of the person who commanded in this alleged fight.

It would be improper to pass over this year without speaking of the severe sickness which prevailed. When the army under Gates was obliged to retreat up Champlain to Ticonderoga, the sick were transported over Lake George to the hospitals established around the fort at its head. This site was selected on account of its genial atmosphere and general advantages. On the 14th of July there were no less than three thousand sick men lying at this place,[1] many of whom were suffering from small-pox and typhus fever. Between the 12th and 26th of July, fifty-one men were here consigned to the grave. What is now the village of Caldwell was one great charnel house. The circumstances were rendered worse by the fact, that the hospitals were extremely destitute of all those means and appliances which in our own day go so far to alleviate human misery. The sufferings of the troops at Valley Forge could not be compared with the misery of our patriotic troops on the shore of this beautiful lake.

Among those prostrated by disease and borne to this place, was General James Wilkinson, afterwards the co-laborer of Aaron Burr, and Baron de Woedtke.[2] Wilkinson says: "There at Fort George, in spite of medical aid, I was reduced to the last extremity; every hope of my recovery had expired; I was consigned to

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(1)—American Archives, Vol. i., Series v. pp. 232-237-651. (2)—Baron de Woedtke was many years an officer in the Prussian army. He came to America, and March 16, 1776, was appointed brigadier-general, and ordered to Canada. He died at Lake George, at about the close of July, and was buried with the honors due to his rank. Washington's Writings, Vol. iv. p. 6.

the grave, and a coffin was prepared for my accommodation."[1] Yet he recovered from this sickness, and in course of time the diseases abated, and the hospitals were cleared, though too many of them had been rendered tenantless by Death.

Towards the close of the season, Trumbull passed up the lake from Ticonderoga, in a boat with General Gates, under whom he was serving as adjutant-general. He gives in his journal a beautiful picture of a mountain on fire, a scene well adapted to impress the mind of the embryo artist, who was about to lay aside the sword for the mahl stick. He writes: "My taste for the picturesque here received a splendid gratification. Some of the troops who had passed before us had landed on the west shore of the lake and lighted fires for cooking. The season was cold and dry — the leaves had fallen in masses — the fire had extended to them, and spread from ledge to ledge, from rock to rock to the very summit, where it was from seven hundred to a thousand feet high. In parts the fire crept along the crevices of the rock; at times an ancient pine tree rose up a majestic pyramid of flame: and all this was reflected in the pellucid surface of the lake, which lay like a beautiful mirror in the stillness of the dark night, unruffled by the oars of our solitary boat, and these were frequently suspended that we might enjoy the magnificent scene."[2]

Winter closed in gloomily upon the country, as well as upon the lake. About New-Year's day, the lake was frozen over, and navigation ceased. The cold

(1) — Memoirs, Vol. i. p. 86. (2) — Trumbull's Reminiscences, p. 37.

season passed away without any event of importance occurring in the various garrisons. But when the of 1777 opened, the whole aspect of affairs underwent a change.

In order to render the operations of the army more effective, Congress, May 22, confirmed General Schuyler in his command, and added to his former jurisdiction, including Ticonderoga, Fort Stanwix, Albany, and their dependencies.[1] Thus Gates was put out of the field. General St. Clair was then placed in command at Ticonderoga. Eventually, that officer, acting on his own responsibility, decided, in view of the impending peril, to evacuate the post. For this act Schuyler was severely blamed, yet he was in no wise responsible; while St. Clair himself was afterwards fully acquitted by a military court. The day after the evacuation of Ticonderoga, Schuyler, writing to Washington from Fort Edward, says, "I have not been able to learn what is become of General St. Clair and the army."[2]

St. Clair executed this movement on the night of July 6, sending one regiment and the sick to Whitehall, while the rest of the troops marched by the new road through the woods to Hubbardstown. The British, under General Frazer, took possession, and thus the evacuation of all points on Lake George became necessary. St. Clair's retreat having become known, preparations were made in season to leave Fort George; and when the Americans deserted that work

(1) — Journal Congress, Vol. iii. p. 183. (2) — Washington's Writings, Vol. iv. p. 491.

they took all their baggage and stores, and set the fort on fire. The match was applied July 16, and Major Yates marched away to Fort Edward, with seven hundred men. Burgoyne, who was then moving victoriously southward, thus writes of the affair: "The garrison of Fort George in manifest danger of being cut off by the direct movement from Skenesborough to Hudson's River, took the measure I expected of abandoning the Fort, and burning the vessels, thereby leaving the lake entirely free. A detachment of the King's Troops from Ticonderoga, which I had ordered to be ready for that event, with a great embarkation of provisions, passed the lake on the same day that I took possession of this communication by land." Schuyler, in his letter to Washington, before referred to, says that there were "no carriages to remove the stores from Fort George," which he expected would be immediately attacked. Yet it appears that Colonel Gates found means seven days after to bring away every thing in safety. Schuyler also justified the giving up of Fort George, on which point Washington suspended his opinion, merely remarking that others had informed him "that a spirited, brave, judicious officer, with two or three hundred good men, together with the armed vessels you have built, would retard Burgoyne's passage across the Lake for a considerable time, if not render it impracticable, and oblige him to take a more difficult and circuitous route." To this Schuyler replies: "The fort was part of an unfinished bastion of an intended fortification. The bastion was closed at the gorge. In it was a barrack capable of containing between thirty and fifty

men; without ditch, without wall, without cistern; without any picket to prevent an enemy from running over the wall. So small, as not to contain above one hundred and fifty men, commanded by ground greatly overlooking it, and within point blank shot; and so situated that five hundred men may lie between the bastion and the Lake, without being seen from this *extremely* defensible fortress. Of vessels built there, one was afloat and tolerably fitted; the others still upon the stocks; but, if the two had been upon the water, they would have been of but little use, without rigging and guns."[1]

The same poor condition prevailed at Fort Edward, where Schuyler had only fifteen hundred men, with only two pieces of small iron cannon, all the artillery having been sent to the southern department by order of Washington. We may easily imagine what must have been the real state of affairs. An extract from a letter written by Governeur Morris to John Jay, when at Valley Forge, January, 1780, says: "Our troops, — *heu miserors.* The skeleton of an army presents itself to our eyes in a naked, starving condition, out of health, out of spirits. *But I have seen Fort George,*" he adds, "*in the summer of* 1777."[2]

Lake George being wholly given up by the Americans, it now became a part of the British line of communication with Canada. Colonel Anstruther was the commandant.

It is almost universally conceded, however, that he erred greatly in failing to bring his army by this

(1) — Washington's Writings, Vol. iv. p. 494, (2) — Life of Governeur Morris, Vol. i. p. 154.

route after the surrender of Ticonderoga. If he had done this, instead of moving by the way of South Bay, the result would doubtless have been far different. The general plan of the campaign was esteemed judicious, and it gained the approval of King George himself. But that monarch saw the dangers of South Bay, and earnestly recommended the route by Lake George. In revising the plan he says: "If possible, possession must be taken of Lake George, and nothing but an *absolute impossibility* of succeeding in this, can be an excuse for proceeding by South Bay and Skenesborough."[1] Still, Burgoyne afterwards made as good a use of the lake as he was able to, and by this route he brought reinforcements and supplies. Depots were formed at both Fort George and Diamond Island, though eventually all of the stores were accumulated at the latter place.

But the British were not allowed to hold the lake unmolested. While Burgoyne was busy prosecuting his campaign in the direction of Saratoga, an expedition was sent by General Lincoln to his rear. This expedition was placed under the command of the ever-active Colonel John Brown, who surprised the outworks of Ticonderoga, and met with considerable success.[2] He then embarked with his forces in some captured vessels, and sailed to attack Diamond Island,

(1) — Quoted in Albemarle's *Memories of the Marquis of Rockingham*, (Vol. ii. p. 331) from the original manuscript in the handwriting of King George, now in the British Museum. This testimony seems to have escaped all of our American writers. The author's attention was directed to it by Major-General de Peyster. (2) — See Chapter ix. on Ticonderoga.

situated within four miles of Fort George. In this expedition he failed. The artillery of the garrison was so well served that he was unable to come to quarters. The result we may give in Burgoyne's own words. He reports:

"On the 24th instant, the enemy upon Lake George attacked Diamond Island in two divisions. Captain Aubrey[1] and two companies of the 47th regiment had been posted at that island from the time the army passed the Hudson River, as a better security for the stores at the south end of Lake George than Fort George, which is on the continent, and not tenable against artillery and numbers. The enemy were repulsed by Captain Aubrey with great loss, and pursued by the gunboats under his command, to the east shore, where two of their principal vessels were retaken, together with all the cannon. They had just time to set fire to the other batteaux, and retreated over the mountain."

Colonel Brown regained Lincoln's camp in safety. He afterwards fell a martyr to liberty. He was a man of much character and ability, but he was kept from advancement by Arnold, who then had the ear of General Gates.

When Burgoyne was defeated and undertook to retreat, he started for Lake George, hoping to escape by this route to Canada. But the skill of Gates finally caused him to capitulate; and thus Lake George once more became free from British rule.

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(1)—Thomas Aubrey, second son of Sir Thomas Aubrey, of Glamorganshir, entered the army as ensign in 1762, and served in Florida. He was at the Battle of Bunker Hill, and was made major in 1782, and afterwards arose to the rank of colonel. He died January 15, 1814.

Nothing of importance occurred in this vicinity until 1780, when Sir John Johnson invaded the northern part of New York, and marked his track in ashes and flames. His object was to recover three barrels of silver plate buried in the cellar of his former mansion at Johnstown. He succeeded in finding the treasure, which was borne away by forty soldiers, each of whom carried a portion in his haversack. Sir John was pursued on his return by a force under Governor Clinton, who went down Lake George to Ticonderoga, where he was obliged to abandon the pursuit.

Major Carlton improved the occasion of this raid to strike a blow at Forts Ann and George. Fort Ann was taken October 10. The next day, Carlton, while marching against Fort George, was met by a party of twenty-five men sent from that place by the commander, Colonel Chipman, to obtain provisions at Fort Edward. They were immediately fired upon by Carlton, but managed to escape and return to Fort George. Chipman, supposing that it was an enemy's scout, sent out all but fourteen of his men, who met and engaged the enemy near Bloody Pond. The Americans were signally defeated, the whole force being either killed, wounded, or taken prisoners. Carlton then hurried to the fort, which was obliged to capitulate. The Americans lost twenty-eight men, eight vessels, and twenty-eight flat-boats, which were in the lake.[1]

With this event military operations on Lake George

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(1) — Hough's Northern Invasion — Washington's Works, Vol. vii. p. 269.

ended. During the war of 1812 they were not renewed, as at that time the lake had lost its importance as part of a great military route.

For the last eighty-five years Lake George has enjoyed all the advantages that flow from peace; and yet it still retains its native wildness. The lack of water-power and the lightness of the soil, retard the progress of mechanic and agricultural arts; and the shriek of the locomotive will perhaps never be heard around these shores. As this mountainous country will hardly require or admit the use of railroads, the stage-coach will hold undisputed sway, and, under a wise management, furnish to tourists, who pass by the Lake-George route to the Schroon Lake and the Adirondacks, a mode of transit that is at once easy, expeditious, and safe.

Lake George may therefore be considered beyond the reach of those invasions which have destroyed the value of so many American retreats. Elegant villas will multiply along its borders, and its romantic isles will, in course of time, be crowned with cottages; yet the visitor at the lake will never miss its old and exquisite charm, or fail to find retirement and peace.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

I.

ACCOUNT OF BERNARD ROMANS.

[MSS. in Connecticut State Library. Revolutionary War, Vol. iii. p. 26. Furnished by Charles J. Hoadly, Esq., Librarian.]

COLONY OF CONNECTICUT TO BERNARD ROMANS, Esq^r Dr. for monies advanced & for which he gave obligations, viz^t:

To p^d Heman Allen going Express after Ethan Allen, 120 miles	£2.16. 0
To p^d Elisha Phelps p rec^t on file	30. 0.—
To p^d expences 3 Persons from Ben^gton to Albany	9.06
To p^d Benjamin French for Pork 4 bb^ls p rec^t	12. 0.—
To p^d Gershom Hewit Expence over lake	1.10.—
To p^d Jn^o Stevens Canaan, Expence p rec^t	3.16.—
To p^d ditto d^o p d^o	2.16.—
To p^d George Palmer Esq^r for flower p d^o	3. 1. 6
To my Expences at Albany	7. 6
To ditto, on road to Still Water, Fort Edward &^c	9.—
To ditto, at & near Fort Edward, getting men together	16. 4
To p^d Abram Wing in part for Expences	9.—
To d^o Cash to John Stevens	1. 8.—
To d^o horse shoeing 7/6 — Expen^s on road 5/—	12. 6
To p^d Butler for Expen^s as Express to Stillwater	12.—
To horse hire for ditto	15.—
To Expen^s on road at mead^w runbridge & Fort Geo: 16 men	1.10.—
To Expen^s on Lake & at Ticonderoga Landing	7. 6
To d^o at Ticond^a & on Lake returning	9. 4
To p^d enlisted men for their Exp^s. — Peter Caswel p Rec^t	1. 2.—
To Expe^s on road & at Saratoga, returning	9.—
To d^o at Lanesborough d^o	7.—
To p^d Mayhon Wagoner to Transport Prisoners from Lake to Lanesborough	2.12. 6

To p[d] Prisoners Expences at Lanesborough .	.16.10
To fetching my horse rode by Jn[o] Brown, & keeping &[c]	1. 8.—
To advanced mony to one of Prisoners sick .	.12.—
To p[d] for 10 Loaves Bread for Prisoners . .	. 7. 6
To 10[lb] Pork for ditto . .	. 5.—
To p[d] two Waggoners from Lanesbor[o] to Noble-town 58 miles each — they found themselves	6. 0.—
To p[d] Exp[s] at Lanesbor[o] 5/– d[o] on Road 7/6 .	.12. 6
To p[d] for Ton Iron to M[r] French, for Chains .	28.10.—
To Expences advanced on the Road as ℔ Bill from Hartford to Bennington including a Gun bo[x] for Cap[t] Mott 50/– for which he must be charged & also 35/3 Expence paid for Mott	19. 8. 4
To Expences on the Road	1.16.—
	£131.11.10

SUPRA—	C[r]
By Cash rec[d] of Mess[rs] Deane Leffingwell &[c] ℔ Rec[t]	100. 0. 0
By an order on Treasurer in full this acco[t] this 31[st] day May 1775	31.11.10
	£131.11.10

Errors Excepted
℔ B ROMANS.

II.

PETITION OF JOHN NORDBERG.

[From N. Y. Miscellaneous Papers, Vol. xxxi, p. 15. N. Y. Revolutionary Papers, I. p. 206. In Office of Secretary of State at Albany.]

"The most respectable Gentlemen,
Provincial Congress in New York.

"I beg leave to represent to the most respectable Congress this circumstance.

"I am a native of Sweden, and have been persecented for that, I have been against the French faction there.

"I have been in His Britanick Magesty's Service sinse January 1758.

"I have been twice shot through my body here last war in America, & I am now 65 years old — redneed of age, wounds & and gravels, which may be seen by Doctor Jones' certificate.

"1773. I got permission in Jamaica to go to London where I petition to be an Invalid officer, but as a foreigner I could not enjoy a commission in England, or Ereland His Magisty was graciously pleased to give me the allowance for Fort George 7 shilling sterling per day, with liberty to live where I please in America, because the fort has been abandoned this 8 year and only 2 men remain there for to assist any express going between New York and Canada. I arrived here in New York last year in September with intention to live in New York: as I heard nothing els than disharmony amongst Gentlemen which was not agreeable to my age. I resolved to go to Fort George and live there in a little Cottage as an Hermit, where I was very happy for 6 months.

"The 12 of May last Mr. Romans came & took possession of Fort George, Mr. Romans behaved very genteel and civil to me. I told that I did not belong to the army and may be considered as a half pay officer invalid, and convinced him that I was pleagd with Gravell, Mr. Romans give me his passport to go to New Lebanon for to recover my health, & he told me that in regard to my age, I may go where I please.

"As I can't sell any bill for my subsistance, & I can't live upon wind and weather, I therefore beg and implore the

most respectable Congress permission to go to England, and I intend to go to my native country, I could have gone away secret so well as some others have done, but I will not upon any account do such a thing — I hope the most respectable will not do partially to refuse me, becanse major Etherington, Captain Brown. Captain Kelly which is in the army have been permitted to go to England, and it may happen they return here again on actual Service, which old age & infirmities render me incapable of.

"As it is the enstom among the Christian nations and the Turks, that they give subsistance to every Prisoner according to their Rank should the most respectable Congress, have any claim upon me to be a prisoner here. I hope they will give me my subsistence from th 12 of May last, according to My Rank as Captain I implore the favor of the most respectable Congress answer. I have the honour to remain with great respect.

"GENTLEMEN

"Your most obed^{t} humble Servant

"JOHN NORDBERG.

"NEW YORK, decemb^{r} 1775."